

POLITICAL MONEY RAISING

FOR CLUBS

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

In reading the following pages you will note that disproportionate emphasis has been placed on the money raising techniques employed in Contra Costa County. This does not imply that Democrats of this area did the most or did it best. It implies only that this is the area I know the most about.

It implies, too, a weakness in communication within the California Democratic Council, for a "Manual" such as this should not be a summation of the experiences and opinions of any relatively small group or area. Perhaps the next work of this type can draw source material from every County in the State and every State in the Country.

Thomas Saunders
Northern California Chairman
CDC Finance Committee

I N T R O D U C T I O N

This Finance Manual is designed to set forth the financial needs and aspirations of the California Democratic Council, and to suggest in broad outline ways and means of raising more money from more people.

If we are to achieve our goal of a Democratic Party that is truly democratic and that wins at the polls, we must improve and democratize its fund raising.

Unlike the much longer Finance Manual published by the CDC in 1954, this pamphlet does not spell out in step-by-step detail the multitudinous methods of fund raising. Instead, it covers general principles that have proved effective. It stresses the value of combined efforts, where a number of Clubs in an area, together with official organs of the Party, pool their resources in a common effort.

We hope that it will strengthen the Club movement and the Democratic Party of California generally.

It is our hope that this manual will get into the hands of as many Club members as possible, and that you will let us hear your comments and experiences with the principles it presents -- so that you can share in the editing of the next edition, and insure that it is far better than this one.

Alan Cranston,
President
California Democratic Council

PART I ----- CDC DUES

The California Democratic Council is an association of Democrats and Democratic groups. Its members include holders of partisan offices, nominees, the National Committeeman and Committeewoman, the Executive Committee of the State Central Committee, the County Central Committees and the Democratic Clubs and local Councils throughout the State.

Of course, each member of each Club, Council and Central Committee is not a member of the CDC, but each of these groups is entitled to membership -- and through your group, you are represented.

Since this manual is addressed primarily to the Clubs, let us examine how you -- as a member of a Democratic Club -- are represented in the conduct of the Council's affairs.

Between Conventions, the business of the Council is conducted by a Board of Directors. One Director is elected from each Congressional District by a caucus of that District's delegates to the CDC Convention, or by a vote held in the District after the Convention. The Director serves for two years.

The basic policies of the Council are formulated at the annual Convention and here your group is entitled to direct representation. If your Club is a member of the CDC you may have one delegate for each twenty members. Your delegates help elect the officers of the Council, determine the purposes of the Council, establish basic policy and -- most important -- your delegates have a full voice in endorsing Democratic Candidates for Statewide offices.

WHY THE COUNCIL WAS ESTABLISHED

Two needs were served by the establishment of the California Democratic Council. First, there was an acute and obvious need for an organization which could bring into close association and coordination all of the Democratic groups -- official and unofficial -- throughout the State. Second, there has existed in California, as the result of our cross-filing law, a need for a body within the Party which could democratically select a single candidate for each office and present him to the electorate in the primary election.

The California Democratic Council performs both of these functions. Every authorized Democratic group can be represented, through Council membership, in this single, Statewide organization and Party sanction is democratically given to a single aspirant for each Statewide office at our Endorsing Convention.

The Council was formed at a Statewide Convention held in the fall of 1953. Early in 1954, the first Endorsing Convention was held and for the first time in 40 years our Party presented a full slate of candidates to the voters -- and each of our candidates was victorious in the primary election. The CDC encouraged local endorsing conventions for Congressional, Senate and Assembly contests, and these, too, were highly successful.

In 1955 a Convention was held to revise the Constitution, to elect new officers and to plan a program for the current year.

In February of 1956 we will hold our Second Endorsing Convention to present a candidate to the electorate to contest the U. S. Senate seat presently held by Republican Kuchel -- the only Statewide office to be contested in 1956.

It is for this specific event that the Council is now preparing but it is also working to create new clubs and to coordinate them more closely; it is working to form local councils and for greater knowledge and application of effective political techniques -- and for all of the other factors which will help us elect Democrats at every level in 1956.

THE NEED FOR DUES

Obviously, an organization with the obligations and responsibilities of the CDC cannot operate without money.

Take, first, the matter of qualifying delegates for an endorsing convention. Unless stringent requirements are established and adhered to, there is no assurance that the delegates are representatives of anyone. They could be grinding their own axes or be representatives of any pressure group -- and they could outnumber legitimate delegates.

Not only does the proper certification of member groups and their delegates cost money but the further functions of the Council require funds. These functions and the amount of money to be spent on them were prescribed by the delegates at the 1955 Convention.

THE PROGRAM AND THE BUDGET

The Convention developed a program designed to achieve the objectives of the California Democratic Council. The program calls for a publication (in coordination with the State Central Committee, if possible), research, speakers bureaus, conferences and workshops. It calls for committees to work on candidate development, registration, publicity, membership, finance and political action.

To meet the financial needs created by the program as well as the administrative obligations of the Council, a budget was developed and approved. This budget is as follows:

1. Administration (two offices -- S.F. and L.A.)	
Secretarial Salaries.	\$ 344.00 per month
Rent.	195.00
Supplies.	35.00
Phone.	150.00
Printing.	30.00
Petty Cash.	50.00
Miscellaneous.	25.00
	<hr/> 829.00
2. Officers' expenses.	320.00
3. Program expenses.	<hr/> 250.00
TOTAL1,399.00

Certainly the administrative costs consume a disproportionate amount of the total budget. It is not that these costs are too high -- the allotment to "Program Expenses" is too low! Note that not one cent was allocated for a publication! We were guided at the Convention not only by what we needed -- we considered carefully what we could get and tailored the budget to fit this reasonable estimate.

The administrative costs are minimum -- made so by the fact that we share expenses in Northern California with the State Central Committee and with the Los Angeles County Committee in Southern California. In reviewing those figures recall that we have the services of a secretary operating in each of two offices. There is no other paid staff.

IMPLEMENTING THE BUDGET

The Convention approved a dues structure to implement the budget. As described in the CDC Constitution these dues are as follows:

Member Clubs, County Central Committees, YD Clubs and local Councils pay annual dues of \$10.00 upon application for membership. In addition, each Club pays fifty cents annually for each member and \$5.00 for each delegate (in excess of one) to the CDC convention.

Roughly this amounts to a cost of about one dollar per year for each member of your Club. If the estimates as to the number of clubs and club members were accurate, the Council should be able to support its minimum operations without frantic appeals.

PREPAYMENT

Prior to the 1955 Convention, 1955 CDC dues amounted to only the \$10.00 application fee plus \$5.00 for each delegate in excess of one. The Constitution also called for payment of the annual dues prior to the Convention. In simple English, this means that if your Club sent a delegation to the last (March, 1955) Convention, then your dues have been paid for 1955.

Since we started the year up to our ears in debt due mainly to expenditures in the 1954 primary, these 1955 dues would have done little more than pay past obligations and buy a tin cup for our treasurer. Our budget and program would be empty words. At the end of '55 we would be bankrupt.

To solve this problem we borrowed a wartime idea of the Federal Government (which will apparently be with us for some time to come) ---prepayment of future obligations. You are being asked to pay your 1956 dues this year so that when Convention time rolls around your accounts will be paid up -- there will remain only the necessity of making minor adjustments for increased or decreased membership. This is precisely the manner in which Federal Income Tax is collected.

This method serves you and your Club just as it does the Council. It gives you the opportunity to collect dues money now when political activity is low. Meanwhile, the CDC can meet its obligations as they are incurred. At this writing the Council owes no one and

there is enough money in the bank to last for a few months. Solvency at year's end depends on you! No specific method for raising this money is prescribed or required. Perhaps the ideas on the following pages will furnish your Club with methods by which your obligations can best be met.

PART II ---- THE \$100-A-MONTH PLAN

Wouldn't it be pleasant to be able to point to one Democratic organization without money problems? The best we can do is call your attention to another which shares our barren ship -- the State Central Committee.

We know their problems well since the Council and the State Committee share offices and secretaries and typewriters. When they are broke, we lend them ink. They have loaned us stamps on many occasions. We know, too, of the work they are doing in keeping the fires burning. We know these things because some of our Officers and Directors sit on their Steering and Executive Committees -- just as their Officers and District Chairmen are individual members of the California Democratic Council. We are, in fact, parallel organizations, each serving a vital and separate function in Democratic politics.

In casting about for a practical and realistic method to put themselves on a pay-as-you-go basis, the State Central Committee decided upon an "assessment" of one-hundred dollars each month from each of California's thirty Congressional Districts. While it is the responsibility of each District's Co-Chairmen to raise these funds, no methods were prescribed. Rather, the cooperation of every element of the Party was invited. In most districts where the plan is now working, Club sources contribute a generous share of the funds.

THE COUNCIL'S ROLE

The California Democratic council stands 100% behind the "\$100-a-Month" plan. Can the Council's position be stated more directly than that? Here are the reasons for the Council's stand:

1. The CDC recognizes, of course, the official status of the State Central Committee, its essential functions in the Party and the obligations of every Democrat to support the official body.
2. The \$100-a-Month plan is a sensible democratic way for organized Democrats to finance their State Central Committee.
3. The plan represents a great step forward in the complete integration of basic housekeeping and administrative expenses for all parts of the Party.

4. One-half of the proceeds from the plan are allotted to the CDC's share of headquarters expense in Northern California and one-third in Los Angeles County -- regardless of the source of funds. (In Los Angeles County, one-third goes to the County Committee.)

This last item needs amplification. The CDC shares headquarters expenses in San Francisco on a 50-50 basis with the State Committee -- our share being \$470.00. If twice that amount, \$940.00, comes in each month under the \$100-a-Month plan, it will cover our share fully, and that much per month -- plus 50% of everything additional that comes in under the plan, will be available, instead, for program, newsletters, campaign funds, and other useful purposes. Success of the \$100-a-Month plan would also free CDC dues for productive purposes. A similar plan is in effect in Southern California.

The \$100-a-Month plan in no way releases member Clubs from their dues obligations to the California Democratic Council. The dues are a Constitutional requirement if your delegation is to be seated at the next Convention. But your additional support of the \$100-a-Month plan will mean that we will have more money available for the things we really want the CDC to do.

If we can free the Council from all or a great part of present administrative expenses, the Council will become vastly more effective in assisting you in organizing new Clubs, in registration of voters, in research, in dissemination of information and in publishing campaign material.

Since raising these funds is a problem to be solved in each District, we will not attempt to tell you here what you should do beyond asking your full cooperation with your Congressional Chairmen in this matter. We would, however, like to list some of the ways in which Club groups are helping to make this program successful:

1. In some Districts, Clubs have assumed the entire obligation. In one District, a different Club is "assessed" \$100 each month, to be raised in any way it wishes. Once a Club has paid its share, it is absolutely in the clear until its turn rolls around again.
2. Joint Committees have been formed with membership drawn from Central Committees and Clubs to plan together the events or methods by which the money will be raised.
3. Clubs have voluntarily assumed one-half of the burden and allowed each Club in the District to plan their own methods of raising the money.

Far more important than the method is the desire to join this movement. This is a plan which permits you to support your State Central Committee while giving a real boost to the California Democratic Council.

PART III ---- WHAT PRICE DEMOCRACY?

Democratic Clubs have many functions in the Party's organizational structure. The Clubs provide manpower for a thousand jobs during campaign time. The members do precinct work, register voters, address envelopes, plan public meetings and heckle the opposition. Between election years, Clubs keep the fires burning and lay plans for the future. Not the least of their functions -- during election years and off-years -- is to raise money.

While the Democrats are not without "large contributors", we know that vast and vital resources lie in the dimes and dollars of the multitudes. Without thousands of volunteer workers -- drawn from the Clubs -- we cannot get this money. In each campaign, as the Club movement matures, we are becoming more successful in realizing meaningful sums of money through the efforts of Club people.

We have met the "off-year problem" less squarely. We are generally less than eager to ask our membership for money to support the Party. We hedge. We say that dues are already too high and we'll lose members if we ask for additional funds. We have, perhaps, become too concerned over a large membership of semi-active Democrats just to assure ourselves of a substantial delegation to conventions.

When appeals for funds are made for the support of the Council, the State Committee, or for a campaign war chest, the Clubs have three general methods by which they can raise the money. They can (1) put on an "event", (2) they can solicit from outsiders, (3) they can dig into their own pockets. Each of these methods of money raising has a definite place in political financing. Generally speaking, the last of these methods is most infrequently used. (Except that their own pockets so often contribute heavily to the "event".)

We are not contending that Club members should be milked into bankruptcy, but we do feel that in many cases your membership is not even being asked for a fraction of what they would willingly give if the need were explained.

Dues of one or two dollars a year are ridiculously low for the privilege of participating in Democratic Club activities. We realize lump sum payments may be difficult for some -- but these are precisely the individuals who understand the terrible necessity of providing funds for the Party. These are the people who will contribute fifty cents a month IF THEY ARE ASKED FOR IT, and we must accept the fact that we must pay our own housekeeping costs.

In the Spring of 1954, the Council published a Finance Manual which attempted to spell out in step-by-step detail all of the various methods which have been used to raise money -- dinners, cake sales, house tours, and so on. This volume is out of print. If your Club does not have a copy you may be able to borrow one, and, perhaps; when the Council is wealthier we may be able to reprint this 200-page Manual. It is the intention of the Board of Directors simply to examine the principles of money raising in this "revision" of the Finance Manual.

In the sections to follow, we will propose ways in which maximum contributions can be solicited from your membership; who should stage events and when; how to successfully solicit from outsiders; how to get money when it is needed.

PART IV ---- THE ORANGE JUICE SALE

A bitter term has been applied to the pot-luck suppers and cake sales which are the money raising stock-in-trade of so many of our Clubs: "The Orange Juice Sale". The term implies selling essentially worthless goods to each other and using the generally meagre profits for political purposes.

Certainly every Club should stage some sort of primarily social event at least once each year. Democratic Clubs are social as well as political bodies and a party or dinner is a wonderful way to generate enthusiasm and good fellowship which will carry over into the real work of the organization. But these affairs should not be considered as ways to raise money except incidentally. Here are the reasons to support this contention:

- 1) You take three or four dollars from your "contributor" but only one of these dollars (at best) will end up in the treasury.
- 2) A tremendous amount of effort is expended by the Arrangements Committee in putting on the event. This effort expended in other directions can yield far greater financial returns.
- 3) Such events during campaigns impose an unfair burden on your candidates who feel obligated to put in an appearance. They may have to cancel an engagement which would win them votes they were not previously counting on.

We repeat that we are not saying that you should give up "events". Some groups do these things extraordinarily well. We are only saying that you should consider carefully the purposes of your affair and decide whether the objectives can be attained and are worth attaining. We ask that you read the next section before you put on your next "Orange Juice Sale".

THE COLOSSAL ORANGE JUICE SALE

"Unification" has proved to be a very useful concept for labor unions, big business and political groups. "In unity there is strength" -- this saw applies to a political dinner just as much as it does to the merger of a couple of banks.

The "Area Dinner" -- on a County or District-wide basis -- is designed to overcome the disadvantages of the dinner or party staged by a single club. An arrangements committee can stage such an event for 50 people or 500 with practically the same amount of work -- freeing half a dozen other arrangements committees for other political work. The faithful will be asked to attend only one dinner instead of many. A big dinner will attract big candidates who, in turn, will attract more people to the affair.

This last leads us into the positive features of the Colossal Orange Juice Sale. If ten Clubs unite to sponsor a dinner, perhaps also uniting with their County Committee, they can look forward to a crowd of 350 to 500 people. This kind of turn-out will tempt the

most important candidates because it will be a worthwhile event to attend. This kind of crowd is a sounding board which cannot be ignored by the press. You will almost certainly be given good coverage both before and after the event -- coverage which will include pictures and statements from your local candidates as well as from the guest of honor.

We tell ourselves that "outsiders" attend our little Club affairs but is it not a fact that these orange juice sales are supported by the few and the faithful? To attract people we haven't seen before we have to give them a real attraction -- either a steak dinner for a dollar or a speaker of real importance. The free meal is impractical; the "United Dinner" is eminently practical.

There is another plus point which should be mentioned. If you will point out that this big affair is to be the one, the official money raising event of the season you can raise the tariff to a point which will justify the efforts that go into the planning. People who have been spending two dollars for three or four dinners and breakfasts will agree to paying five or six dollars (or more if your speaker justifies the price), if they understand that this will be it. This matter of an excessive price is worth examining if your dinner is to be considered as a means of raising money. Assume that the dinner costs you \$2.00 a plate and you are charging \$3.00. Raise the price only ONE DOLLAR AND YOU DOUBLE YOUR PROFITS.

COOPERATIVE PLANNING

The mechanics of a dinner cooperatively planned are no different from one put on by a single organization. As a matter of fact, a single organization -- your Council (plus the County Committee where possible) -- should be the sponsor. A Dinner Committee, made up of representatives of the several clubs in the Council, is appointed. This group, in cooperation and consultation with the political leaders in the area, selects the speaker of the evening, finds the appropriate banquet hall and decides upon the price. These matters of policy should be confirmed by the Council at its regular meeting. Once these broad decisions are made, the rest is mechanical. Each Club should be given a block of tickets and urged to appoint someone to push the sale of tickets. By properly numbering and identifying the tickets and stubs, credit can be given to the organization which actually makes the sale of each individual ticket. In this way each Club receives its proper share of the profits.

In summary, there is really no mechanical difference between the small affair and the colossal affair. Everyone participates in this colossal dinner -- those who aren't concerned with the arrangements are free to take part by selling tickets and attending themselves. In considering the many advantages of this type of dinner, one of the most important should not be underestimated: the publicity value of the affair itself.

This method of raising money cannot be used every month (which is one of the reasons for using it at all), but it is not restricted to campaign years nor is it restricted to dinners. The Clubs of Contra Costa County in partnership with their County Central Committee had a \$5.00 breakfast in August of 1955 with Pat Brown as the speaker. They plan a \$20.00 dinner in October with Senator Neuberger as the guest. Proceeds from both of these events will go to CDC dues and \$100-a-Month plan quotas.

PART V ----- GETTING MONEY FROM OUTSIDERS

There are many ways to squeeze dimes out of Democrats, but there is only one way in which Democrats can raise dollars by the thousands. This is to get the money from outsiders; to use the organized Democrats as solicitors rather than as contributors.

The potential of a great number of small contributors was recognized during the Stevenson Campaign by the Rural Plan. Democrats have since been trying to repeat that success at every level of the Party. A recent Gallup Poll indicates that many millions of members of both political Parties would be glad to contribute about \$5.00 a year to their Party -- and most of them said they'd never been asked to give.

As long as we have Democrats registered by the millions but Club people only by the scant thousands, the potential of this method cannot be disputed. The problems are (1) to convince your membership of the potential and (2) to make the task of solicitation less distasteful.

Obviously this is a campaign technique. You cannot ask an "outsider" for money to support the "Council" or to "prepare for our pre-primary convention". These are internal matters -- the organizational elements which we joined the Club-movement to support.

But if you have a cause, there is no method known which will yield greater returns than a door-to-door solicitation. "Easy Ways" are continually being proposed. "Let's mail a sheet of stamps to every registered Democrat and ask for a dollar." This requires a fantastic investment for uncertain returns. Even an "institution" such as Christmas Seals gets little as compared to the net returns of the United Crusade's door-to-door request for money.

Obviously we can't expect the same type of reception received by the wonderful workers of the United Crusade. Theirs is a cause which is non-partisan, universally approved and widely publicized and supported. But even a plea for a new and not completely understood "cause" will yield fabulous returns if only that plea will be made. Writing in Harper's Magazine (July, 1955) on educational TV in St. Louis (population 856,000) Martin Quigley says: "On a single dramatic evening, an army of PTA ladies went door-to-door and collected \$100,000 from their neighbors."

It is certainly not unnatural that people do not want to go from door to door asking for money. The point is that it must be done. We cannot expect success over night; certainly the United Crusade has profited from experience and the growing acceptance of their annual drive for funds. Perhaps if we describe, in some detail, the methods used by one Club which has been quite successful in this field of money raising, others will gain from their experience. We will also mention some twists and gimmicks which make a door-to-door solicitation both more palatable and more profitable.

HOW TO DO IT

First, a little background. The Club (as we shall call it) was organized during the Stevenson Campaign when a group of Democrats "got together". Organized within geographical boundaries in a college town, "Old Pros" despaired when this bunch of Egg-heads applied for a Charter from the County Committee. However, the Egg-heads were of the type that sets down purposes and objectives and among their objectives was to raise money for the Party and its candidates.

They got their Charter.

The area from which the Club draws its membership is highly Republican. Within the precincts covered by the Club are some 1,000 Democrats compared with about twice that many Republicans. One of the first acts of the Club was to set up a precinct organization.

The job of the precinct captains and their workers was predominantly to invite Democrats to public meetings staged by the Club, to alert voters to local elections, and to do some pre-election precinct work in the area. Since the citizenry is conscientious and well informed, it has not seemed necessary to do door-to-door precinct work in this neighborhood. (The vote for Graves in November, 1954, was something over 100% of the Democratic registration.)

As a result of the various contacts which had been made in the first two years of the Club's existence, there was a file card on each Democrat. These combined to make a catalog of almost every "Dem" in the 14 precincts. At the time of each contact, a notation was made concerning the reactions and attitudes of the voter.

In addition to the personal contacts, the Club has made it a policy to keep in touch with the voters of the area through the mails and the public press. Their newsletter goes out periodically to every-one who has expressed some slight degree of interest in Democratic politics. Every meeting or event sponsored by the Club has been given newspaper publicity. When the Club has had an important speaker as a dinner guest before the meeting they have usually managed to get a picture on the society page.

All of these contacts have served to make the name, purposes and functions of the Club somewhat familiar to residents of the area. With these facts in mind it was decided that a door-to-door solicitation should be put in the hands of the precinct organization. It was also decided that precinct workers should solicit in their own precincts rather than to canvass a strange area just because that area might have a greater percentage of registered Democrats.

One member of the Club was appointed as Fund Drive Chairman. It was his responsibility to see that each Precinct Captain had the cards for his precinct and that these were distributed, if possible, to every member of the Club. Along with the cards, each worker was given plenty of tickets to sell -- and urged to sell at least \$20 worth -- to friends, co-workers, neighbors, tradesmen -- everyone but fellow club members (who had their own to sell).

The cards were distributed as equitably as possible and every effort was made to let the individual rifle through the cards to pick out acquaintances or neighbors -- people whom the solicitor might feel easier talking to and who might be more susceptible to a request for money from this particular solicitor.

However the cards were distributed, one item was of prime importance: every name was to be contacted and results of the contact noted on the card.

The job of the Chairman did not stop here. He kept in regular and continual contact with the captains, putting squarely up to them the task of getting the solicitors started, getting the funds in promptly, and following through if there appeared to be weak spots.

In both of the 1954 campaigns -- primary and general elections -- the Finance drive "plans" of the California Democratic Council were used. CDC "tickets" served as receipts, and the CDC pitch guided the solicitors. For those who needed help the words and phrases were written out and one point was stressed: in introducing yourself point out not only your affiliation and the purpose of the call but also the fact that you are a neighbor -- establish rapport.

There were many special techniques devised by individual solicitors. Some telephoned and made appointments, getting very nearly a 100% response by this means. Others found it psychologically sound to start by soliciting from the cards which indicated that the response would almost surely be favorable. In this way, they started with a success and were better equipped to handle a failure.

The Club had about 85 members during these months and the two solicitations yielded \$2,300. Obviously, individual members contributed to this total but a sum equal to at least \$20.00 per member was raised by asking unaffiliated Democrats for a contribution.

Here is the start of a new list -- a list of \$1, \$2, and \$5 contributors -- and even some fifty cent contributors. And these are people who can be approached year after year because this Club made it a point to strengthen its relationship with those who contributed. Early in January, a letter was mailed out to all who had given, thanking each for his contribution and explaining the uses to which the funds had been put. They were invited to increase their participation by joining the Club (25 new people joined the Club as the result of this mailing piece). The contacts between the Club and their Democratic neighbors will continue through the year.

This is a scheme of money raising which is adaptable to almost any Club. It was this Club's experience that an astounding amount of money can be collected in white-collar neighborhoods. Even Clubs not organized on a geographical basis generally draw a substantial part of their membership from within a small area or are somehow divided into precinct groups. No matter how the Club is set up, certainly the Area Council will have assigned specific precincts to certain Clubs. This should be the start of a long term association between the Club and much larger groups of unorganized Democrats.

A plan such as this goes much deeper than just making it easier to raise money. It adds new members to your Club, it can be the beginning of a new Club in an adjacent neighborhood, it makes for far greater participation and awareness among people who "just vote Democratic".

PART VI ---- THE TOOLS OF MONEY RAISING

During the 1954 campaigns, the California Democratic Council provided "Receipt Books" to be used in door-to-door solicitations and asked, in return, for a share of the proceeds. The Council's part in these fund raising plans provided food for argument whenever two Democrats met over a cup of coffee.

However, if we accept the absolute necessity of soliciting funds from outsiders we must also accept the soundness of a single, unified, Statewide drive for funds. When the CDC (or any other Statewide organization, proposes to furnish the tools of a money raising

plan, local groups feel that their autonomy is being jeopardized; they want to print their own tickets; they don't want to give away any part of the profits.

We must be careful not to be short-sighted in this matter. Our aims and goals are far beyond this year's success or failure. The Council felt that a similar fund drive during each election year under the same name would eventually become a somewhat familiar picture on the political scene. It is ridiculous to make comparisons with the United Crusade but analogies are not out of order: the annual Crusade grows as it becomes a fixed part of our life; so could a Democratic Crusade.

The Council is not trying to usurp any rights or privileges when, in cooperation with the State Committee, it prints receipt books and asks that all Districts use them. The thought is to make the job of collecting money, door-to-door, easier by providing an "Official State Plan".

If you have tried to raise money in this way you know that what signature is on the receipt is not really critical (although, to the "average" person a contribution to the State is usually more appealing than a contribution to the County). The problem, generally, is to convince your client that he is buying something of value. This brings us to the gimmicks which can be added to the ticket sales to make the merchandise more saleable -- both to the buyer and the seller.

RAFFLES

The easy way and the obvious way to make the contribution more appealing is to make each ticket good for a chance on a Cadillac Convertible. However, we will apparently have to go back to the days of a Republican Attorney General before we can recommend that procedure. (Note: it is perhaps worth calling your attention to the Saints and Sinners Charity "Raffle" which will give away substantial prizes in San Francisco on October 3, 1955. They have noted on their "tickets" that it is not necessary to contribute or make any purchases to be eligible to win any of the prizes. To keep their records straight, however, free tickets are available only at their headquarters.)

MERCHANDISE

Another method is to give away a piece of merchandise with each contribution. This can be a pin, a donkey, a sticker, or a dozen items not yet thought of. These fillips are of unknown value; possibly of less value than generally believed since their actual worth is only a penny or so and many of the people from whom we want to get contributions can not or will not publicly show their campaign button. (This group includes almost every employee of government and big business.) But they must be of some value since they will be worn or shown by many -- and they seem to help many "salesmen". However, they should not be regarded as the critical element in making the solicitation a success or failure.

TICKET OF ADMISSION

The ticket which serves a dual function seems to be the solution. Assuming the raffle to be illegal, we recommend that the ticket, in addition to being a receipt for a political contribution, be made a ticket of admission to a "Pre-Election Victory Celebration".

This was tried, with great success, in a Northern California County last November. Their party was called a "Jamboree" and every ticket sold, regardless of the size of the contribution, was good for admission to this party which promised "Dancing, Entertainment, Hollywood Stars, Refreshments, Games, Candidates". The Jamboree was not planned as an inter-Club event to be held in a dingy hall. It was anticipated that thousands of tickets would be "sold" and a crowd of many hundreds would show up for the Jamboree if it were properly publicized. Consequently, the Memorial Auditorium was engaged and plans proceeded to provide the features advertised on the tickets.

Fifteen hundred people came to the Jamboree. (The press admitted to 1,000 in their word and picture story covering the event.) The "attractions" at the Jamboree paid the costs of the evening so that all of the proceeds from the ticket sales were available for campaign purposes. The sponsors of this gigantic gimmick list the merits of the idea as follows:

1. Primarily as a result of making the tickets easier to sell by making them tickets of admission, sales totaled about \$7,000 -- double what had ever been done on a straight solicitation.
2. A massive ticket sale was the only way in which sufficient publicity could be given to the event so that a good crowd could be assured.
3. By literally flooding the town with tickets which had been purchased for at least fifty cents each, the crowd which showed up was so big that the faithful few were lost in a sea of strangers -- new people who heard the candidates and participated in a political event and contributed another \$750 at the Jamboree.
4. Party workers were so excited by the success of the event that a fabulous stimulus was given to the last few important days before election.
5. The Jamboree was a superb publicity device. The local press cannot (and did not) ignore an event which is taking place in the largest hall in the city. Literally reams were printed in words and photos before and after the Jamboree.

This operation was not done with CDC tickets. It was essential that the receipts should bear the necessary information concerning the Jamboree and by the time Jamboree plans had crystallized the CDC tickets were printed and ready for distribution so that the original idea -- to print the Jamboree ticket on the back of the Council receipt -- had to be cancelled. However, recall that, in 1954, campaign literature was printed on a Statewide basis with special "runs" for each Assembly District. Is there any reason to assume that special printing could not be done on solicitation receipts?

SUMMARY

In summary, the ideal fund drive seems to be a unified Statewide effort which, after several years, would become a known and expected part of every major Democratic campaign. A meaningful name should be selected which could be used year after year. The name used in the 1954 program, "Two Dollars to Win", was completely wrong -- the reference is to horse racing, Democrats are not mentioned and there is no implication of a Statewide or unified effort. The name used in the 1954 general election, "United Democratic Crusade", has the right words but seems too close to the fund drive of the united charities. Who has the right words?

Something of material value probably should be included with the ticket. The ticket of admission to a rally seems an appropriate and practical idea and it is not precluded by centralized printing of receipt books.

PART VII ---- THE SECRET OF THE PROFESSIONAL MONEY RAISER

"Charities" are generally incorporated, non-profit organizations. Their business is to raise money and the approach is therefore professional. While the individuals who reap the harvest of nickels and dimes are amateurs, the men who direct the program are paid, professional experts in the field of money raising.

The two basic concepts of this trade are (1) that no donation is too small to solicit and (2) pledges are tough to collect. The Democrats have long known these facts but are only beginning to go after the small contributions and have done practically nothing about getting the money instead of the promise.

In years past, Democratic groups have been approached by professional money raisers and have, under their direction, adopted some of their techniques. They have met with varied success and generally some bitterness has resulted -- possibly because of the "outside force" which was applied.

In the summer of 1954, Club and County Committee leaders of Contra Costa County met to work out ways of applying professional techniques without professional help. They reasoned that if the program could be spontaneously generated, without undue pressures from outsiders, the bitterness could be avoided should the program be less than 100% successful.

This group proposed to the individual Clubs and to the County Committee that success in the elections depended upon substantial sums of money TODAY. It was pointed out that billboard reservations required cash, there was no charge account at the Post Office, and the list of printers who would work without a deposit was getting shorter every year. Since treasuries were empty at the conclusion of the primary campaign, there was only one source of money in sight -- borrowed money.

BORROWING MONEY

It is not a new idea to approach a man of wealth and ask for a loan. The Committee was aware that this had been done before and the lenders had generally not been repaid partly because a feeling of obligation to the individual was lacking. They proposed, instead, that EACH CLUB BORROW MONEY, PUT IT INTO THE CAMPAIGN TREASURY AND REPAY THE LOAN THROUGH THE COLLECTIVE EFFORTS OF THE MEMBERSHIP.

Borrowing by a Club accomplishes three vital things: It makes early money possible, it gives the planners a firm idea of the eventual total the group will raise, and it puts a real, personal pinch on each member of the Club to go out and raise money.

THE COLLATERAL AGREEMENT

Obviously a bank will not accept a note signed by fifty members of a neighborhood Democratic Club. But money will be loaned, without collateral, on the signature of one or two members. Since this fails to accomplish the objective of "obligating" every member, a collateral agreement was drawn up to be signed, if possible, by every person in the Club. This agreement prorates, among all signers, any deficit which might exist after the fund drive is over. It distributes the burden and personally obligates every signer to raise the money which will retire the note.

In Contra Costa County the County Committee provided the impetus for the plan by borrowing \$2,500. The Committee which had proposed this scheme delegated to itself the task of explaining the idea to each Club at its membership meeting. Each group was able to debate the proposal and come to its own decision concerning the advisability of borrowing a substantial sum of money which they would have to repay. The Committee proposed borrowing at the rate of \$10.00 per Club member and gave every assistance in preparing collateral agreements and answering questions.

By September 1st there was \$3,500 in the treasury. By September 15th -- six full weeks before the election -- seven Clubs and the County Committee had borrowed \$5,500. The smaller groups borrowed only \$250. One of the larger Clubs obligated itself for \$1,000.

These were paid in advance pledges. The pledges were made voluntarily after full discussion. Many groups turned down the idea -- some did not feel themselves to be adequately organized, some were against it in principle, others thought it a foolhardy idea wanting to wait and see. No pressure was put on these Clubs -- they might have been right -- but those who had signed a note or collateral agreement had only one concern: to go out and raise money.

All but one of the borrowing groups met its obligation long before the election. Some found the money pouring in so fast they were able to forward additional funds to campaign headquarters. The one Club which fell short of its goal did not "foreclose" on its membership. The amount due at the end of the fund drive was a nominal sum, easily raised through the device of a rummage sale. Had the situation been critical, every Club in the County would have pitched in to help.

All of the groups -- whether they borrowed or not -- pledged that they would raise an amount equal to \$10 per member. It is significant to note that all but one of the borrowing groups met this quota (or exceeded it), but none of the non-borrowing Clubs was able to raise this much money.

Will this be done again in Contra Costa County? The County Committee says "yes" -- they have already borrowed \$600 this year to pay one-half of the District's quota for the \$100-a-Month plan. The Clubs? Certainly. It was an eminently successful plan; all who participated felt a real sense of accomplishment.

For the first time a significant sum of money was raised and it was on hand when it was needed -- before the skirmishing started.

These are the techniques of the professionals, and the amateurs can put them to work -- successfully. By persuading groups to borrow, substantial sums of money are raised "in advance" and the doubts and delays and expenses of pledges are avoided. Once the group has borrowed, under the guidance of the leadership group, the individual members must go out and solicit the small contributions.

The obligation of the leadership does not stop when the note has been signed and the cash is in the safe -- they must provide the tools for the campaign to raise the dimes and dollars. In short, this ties in perfectly with the door-to-door "Crusade" and the Countywide dinner.

PART VIII --- THE OVERFLOWING TREASURY

As Democrats active in the Club movement we collect money in so many ways, from so many sources, for so many purposes that we may, at times, become a little confused as to just what the money is for.

One of these confusions seems to surround discussions of Club dues. We quote arbitrary figures which dues should not be "more than". We say our membership "will not pay more than. . . .".

Much of this stems, of course, from a reluctance to ask for money -- even from our own membership. But, in the final analysis, there can be no sum of money set or prescribed as the proper amount to charge for annual Club dues. One of the functions of the Club's treasurer is to determine the group's financial needs for the year, and, based on this budget, to recommend a dues structure which will provide this amount of money.

Dues which fail to meet the costs of doing business as a Democratic Club will mean that political money raising events will have to be staged to meet the deficit. This detracts from your political effectiveness.

Dues which yield revenue in excess of your needs discriminate against those who cannot afford this amount of money. Beyond paying the ex-

penses of the Club and the costs of affiliating with other Democratic organizations, there should be no premium on becoming a member of a Democratic Club.

Experience has shown that these costs are covered by dues of from two to three dollars a year. If some of your members cannot afford this in a single payment why not bill them semi-annually or even quarterly? After all, the money will not be needed all at once.

Dues, then, should be set at minimum amounts so that all who are interested in becoming active members can afford the privilege. But -- in establishing dues at a nominal figure -- are you not overlooking people who can afford more and who want to give more to the Democratic Party?

We are not advocating two classes of membership nor different dues for different people. We are advocating that you give individual members the opportunity to pledge money beyond the annual dues.

There are many Districts in California where this practice is common. There are more Districts in which no effort is made in this direction. The monthly pledge system usually hinges upon the existence of a local headquarters -- organized Democrats are asked to give from \$1 to \$5 or \$10 each month for the maintenance of this valuable asset. In areas where no headquarters has been established there are generally no efforts made along these lines.

But why not? Will the donors insist upon knowing the use to which their dollars will be put? Will they give only under certain conditions and stipulations? We think not. It is our opinion that there are several people in your Club who would make a monthly, quarterly or annual pledge to be spent as the membership determined. They would not demand an extra vote to protect their few dollars from falling into the hands of scoundrels. We are all Democrats -- and are united in wanting victory for our Party and its principles.

The mechanics of the plan are not unreasonably complex. A simple mimeographed "Pledge" would outline the amount being pledged and the method of payment (monthly, quarterly, etc.); it notes that the money will go into the Club or Council treasury and will be considered as a part of the group's assets to be spent as the membership (or Executive Committee) decides; it notes that the donor can terminate the pledge at any time.

From these pledges, the treasurer can make up a simple chart indicating, at a glance, who is to be solicited each month. The billing should be by means of a "return envelope" with the donor's name and the amount due noted on the envelope -- you've all seen a million of them.

This is an experiment worth trying. Send a letter, with pledge form attached, asking for annual pledges (we suggest fifty cents a month minimum), and see what happens. It is more effective, of course, to make the first solicitation by a phone call or a personal visit. We have a question: has it not happened to you while paying the fabulous and staggering gasoline bill and light bill and telephone bill, and the rent bill, that you came across a plea for a dollar from charity and you were so pleased to write a small check that you responded to the plea without delay? Time your request so that it will be received about the first of the month. See if the reaction to the phone bill won't serve your purposes. And with \$100 or so extra in your treasury you will be in a position to meet more of the very worthwhile demands which are always being made on you.

PART IX ---- SPENDING THE MONEY

It's tough to raise the money -- but it's often even harder to spend it. There are invariably more demands than there are dollars and each request is as worthwhile as the next. We have proposed in earlier sections that the money be raised in a unified manner. We propose here that it be distributed in the same way.

The local Councils which have been established throughout the State were organized for the express purpose of integrating Club activities. This means integration of Club activities within the District and with the County Committees, the CDC and the State Central Committee. When Clubs form such an association they can select representative committees to act for them and to make the major policy decisions -- such as allocating the money raised during a campaign.

It is completely impractical for each entity to determine the final use to which its funds will be put. We would all like to "run" a campaign but we might each decide that slate cards were the sine qua non and end up with ten cards for each voter and nothing else. It obviously requires more money to be elected to the United States Senate than to the State Assembly. The Senate candidate must draw funds from each District and the only practical way to distribute the funds equitably to each campaign is to assign them first to a central repository.

This centralized agency -- this United committee -- must be made up of people representing you and your Club. In this way your voice will be heard. Through your committee the final decisions will be made as to how much money will leave the District, how much will go to the campaign funds for your local candidates and how much you will spend in behalf of the candidates at all levels.

All of the ideas expressed on previous pages depend upon unified spending. First, capital funds are necessary to pay the advance costs of staging a mammoth rally or a Countywide dinner. These can come only from pooled resources. Further, there is little incentive for a central group to go to the expense and effort of printing and distributing the materials for a solicitation if they can not be assured of some returns from the fund drive and it is impractical for a single Club to print its own receipt books. Finally, the idea of borrowing the money assumes that the participating groups pool all the funds for efficient campaigning.

The concept of a Unified Campaign Committee to allocate the funds is the logical extension of the United Finance Committee which raised the money.

CONCLUSION

The words on these pages have been addressed particularly to California Democrats who have banded together in neighborhood Clubs to contribute to the Party through money raising, precinct work, registration, publicity, etc.

Just how great our contribution has been, no one can say. The effectiveness of the Clubs has probably not been as great as we would have ourselves believe. In the field of financing the Party and its candidates we undoubtedly do not measure up to the combined (or, possibly, individual) efforts of Central Committees, Candidates' Committees, individuals, professional associations and labor groups.

Yet, in spite of our failure to really deliver the goods, we ask to be recognized as an important element of the Party. I believe we are an important group, but before we can assume an important place we will have to prove ourselves deserving of it.

In decrying the lack of whole-hearted acceptance of the Club movement by every official segment of the Party, we would do well to recall the youth of the Club movement, its unofficial nature and the fact that hundreds of first rate Democrats have been elected to office without our help.

In spite of these facts we have come a long way in a few years -- largely because of the willingness of the official Party leaders to accept us and to help us for the greater good of the Party and the people.

But we cannot overlook this: The Democratic Party is an organization and in order to assume a place of importance within that organization, each segment and each person must produce. The Clubs, the Councils and the CDC must become effective administrative units rather than legislative units (which they tend to be).

This manual has pointed out ways in which your organization can become a more effective administrative unit in the field of money raising. Other CDC manuals will guide your Club toward more effective voter registration and precinct work.

Finally, then, we sum up. We, as Club people, seeking stature at all levels within the Party, must prove that we deserve recognition. We must deliver the goods. Money may not be the easiest of goods to deliver -- but it's awfully easy to measure. And in attempting to deliver some money, remember this: Club people will never make impressive contributors but if they will get together in their planning, they can become tremendous money raisers!

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